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LETTER DATED 19 OCTOBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the texts of the addresses delivered by His Highness the Amir, His Highness the Crown Prince and Prime Minister and a representative of the participants at the opening of the Kuwaiti People's Congress held at Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, from 13 to 15 October 1990. The texts were adopted as official documents of the Congress.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annexes circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohammad A. ABULHASAN
Permanent Representative

Annex I

Address of His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Amir of the State of Kuwait, to the Kuwaiti People's Congress held at Jeddah from 13 to 15 October 1990

Praise belongs to God, to other than Whom no praise is due. I beseech Him (Praised be the Most High) to help us all to bear misfortune, to grant us strength and to comfort our souls, and I pay homage to the best of creation, our Prophet Muhammad, may God bless him and his kin and grant them salvation.

My brothers:

Peace and the mercy and blessings of God be with you.

At daybreak on Thursday, the eleventh day of the Holy Month of Muharram (2 August), Kuwait met with a treacherous act of aggression on the part of the Iraqi régime. While we had believed that Kuwait, both its people and its Government, had done enough for that régime to plant the seed of benevolence in its heart and to contain any tendency towards mischievous conduct, its malice was nevertheless deep-seated. It broke the pledge, betrayed its brother and neighbour and violated honour, thus showing contempt for all international covenants and customs and ingratitude for the support and assistance provided to it by Kuwait.

My brothers:

Kuwait was an oasis of security, peace and stability. It was, to all men of goodwill and honour, a refuge in which they might find safety, a dignified livelihood and a happy and agreeable life. That fact aroused the resentment of the criminal Iraqi régime, which had dissipated the wealth of the Iraqi people in order to achieve its own particular ends. When it sensed that the people had begun to grow weary and complain of its aberrations and excesses, it sought to distract them by opening a new front with Kuwait, a country which has in all circumstances been a source of support and assistance to its brother Arabs and Muslims. In the dead of night, it dispatched its armed forces to invade and occupy the country and to engage in acts of violence, murder and armed assault against innocent citizens in a manner unprecedented in the contemporary world.

My brothers:

You no doubt attended to the false claims raised against us by the aggressor Iraqi régime before the brutal invasion took place, when it approached the League of Arab States with a complaint against Kuwait. When we consented to abide by the judgement of a neutral Arab arbitral tribunal, that duplicitous régime backed down on the pretext that the dispute between Kuwait and Iraq was a bilateral matter that should be solved by the two of them alone.

A successful attempt was made by my brother the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fadh Bin Abdul-Aziz of Saudi Arabia, and my brother President Muhammed Hosni Mubarak of the Arab Republic of Egypt and, only a few

hours before the brutal invasion, a meeting was held by the two parties at Jeddah. Kuwait participated in that meeting with an open heart in a desire to settle the issues that had remained outstanding between the two countries, while all the time the Iraqi régime was harbouring ill will, devising insidious schemes and making ready to attack Kuwait. It had already at that stage engaged in deception, guile and deceit in order to create the impression that it would never resort to force for the settlement of the matters outstanding with Kuwait.

My brothers:

The world is fully aware of the grave character of the crime that has been committed by the Iraqi régime against Kuwait and its people. That has been confirmed by the successive resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council condemning the brutal aggression and calling upon the aggressor Iraqi régime to withdraw its forces unconditionally and unreservedly from Kuwait in order to enable the legitimate Government to resume its functions. The Extraordinary Arab Summit Conference, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have all adopted similar resolutions.

There can be no doubt that the stand taken by the world confirms that our policy has been correct and that the open-minded positions we have adopted on international events in general are sound, bringing us the support and sympathy of the peoples and Governments of the world and winning us their support.

My brothers:

The criminal Iraqi régime is angered by the fact that it has been unable to undermine our will even after occupying our land. Our steadfastness and our unity in closing ranks against the brutal occupier have aroused the admiration and respect of the world, which is closely watching our assured progress towards liberation and the dislodgement of the enemy invader. Victory, God willing, is nigh. If history has recorded in illuminated letters the steadfastness of the Kuwaitis against the savage invaders, it will also certainly not fail to set aside some dark pages for the exposure of the criminal practices of the Iraqi régime. Despite the viciousness and treachery of the aggressor, the proud Kuwaiti people has defended with valour its homeland, its lives, its honour and its property.

My brothers:

By long tradition, Kuwaitis have lived in a climate of freedom, have made a rule of consultation and have practised democracy under a Constitution of which we all approve. If their independently held views have differed on any matters relating to the ordering of the Kuwaiti family, they will be all the more cohesive, persistent and co-ordinated in confronting the dangers which threaten them.

This, my brothers, is a manifest fact that the Iraqi régime has not understood. It erred in its understanding of the character of the Kuwaiti home front, and it assumed, quite wrongly, that the views expressed by certain involved citizens on the ordering of affairs in the Kuwaiti family were occasioning discord and antagonism among members of the one nation that is Kuwait.

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But here you are, O sons of Kuwait, by this present meeting of yours, reaffirming to the enemy oppressor and to the entire world the unity of Kuwait's people, their cohesion in confronting the occupation and their peremptory rejection of it. This meeting of yours is perhaps the most eloquent response to your enemy, just as it is a message to the world demonstrating your unity and cohesion in confronting those who have usurped your homeland.

My brothers:

Both on your behalf and in my own name, I send from this rostrum a message of greeting, of esteem and of respect to our people in Kuwait. Since the beginning of the occupation, they have shown the most exemplary signs of steadfastness and defiance in the face of the brutal enemy, kept the soil of the homeland in their hearts and before their eyes and attested on a daily basis to the fact that Kuwait shall remain free and proud despite the criminal aggressor. I pray the Lord, the Great and Almighty, to bring us together with them in the near future on the soil of our precious homeland, a matter which, for God, is no great task.

My brothers:

Duty requires that all of us at this Congress should make up our minds to co-operate unstintingly in the achievement of a sublime goal, namely the liberation of the homeland from the defilement of the occupying enemy, placing our reliance, in the first instance, upon God (Praised be the Most High) and then upon ourselves and upon our brothers and our friends. Liberation is the concern and preoccupation of us all. We must also focus on the Kuwait of the future which, with the help of God, will be stronger, prouder, more stable and more secure. The sacrifices that have been made and that are still being made by the Kuwaiti people in this ordeal will form a strong and firm foundation for a steady Kuwaiti resurgence, in all domains, towards a better future in which the country will embrace the sincere, the loyal and the honourable, all who sustained, safeguarded and defended it, and the noble people of Kuwait will form an impregnable barrier to protect its homeland from the vicissitudes of fate.

The present tragic circumstances in which we are living will never bring us to despair of God's mercy. Right is on our side, and we have a just cause for which God will provide and to which He will grant success. "Faint not, neither sorrow; you shall be the upper ones ...". Almighty God has spoken truly.

My brothers:

I am pleased on this occasion to convey, in my own name and on your behalf, the deepest gratitude and appreciation to my brother the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz, and to his discerning Government for the facilities they have provided to host this auspicious meeting. This is part of the continuing and unstinted support being provided by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, at both official and popular levels, in order to assist Kuwait in its plight. We beseech God to preserve the present beneficent association between the two fraternal peoples, which is to the advantage and in the interest of both. I must also express gratitude and appreciation to all States that have stood by us in defence of the right to oppose falsehood, particularly the members of the

Co-operation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf and the fraternal Arab States, and may God reward them greatly for it.

In conclusion, we firmly hope, my brothers, that we shall, God willing, meet in the near future in the land of love and peace, the precious land of Kuwait.

Annex II

Address of His Highness Sheikh Saad Al-Abdulla Al-Salem Al-Sabah, Crown Prince and Prime Minister of Kuwait, to the Kuwaiti People's Congress held at Jeddah from 13 to 15 October 1990

I salute you with a brotherly and heartfelt greeting and invoke blessings upon you, and, through you, I greet those of our people heroically standing fast in our beloved Kuwait and those outside our precious homeland who reject the brutal occupation.

We praise God in adversity just as we praised Him in happiness, we praise Him in distress just as we praised Him in abundance, and we praise Him in misfortune and tribulation just as we praised Him in felicity and prosperity, believing in His judgement, surrendering ourselves to His command, seeking from Him, the Great, the Almighty, endurance in affliction, victory over aggression and help in our Holy War and our struggle to liberate our beloved homeland from the burden of a brutal occupation.

"'Our Lord, pour out upon us patience, and make firm our feet, and give us aid against the people of the unbelievers!'".

My brothers; sons of my homeland:

When I look at you, it is as if I am looking at our dear homeland. I see in your kindly faces the image of our beloved Kuwait, our precious mother, whom I see from afar as an exalted paragon in all her sorrows, her patience and her courage, calling to us for help and rescue while still certain of victory and confident of her devoted sons who are ready to die for her and to sacrifice for her their fortunes, their offspring, all that is precious and valuable, so that she may again be as she once was - and as she will, with God's help, for ever be - free, proud and independent, endowed with sovereignty and her banner raised high despite the disapproval of criminals.

Our small and peaceful people has been the object of treacherous aggression on the part of a neighbour which belongs to the Arab nation and to Islam, one which we helped in its affliction and stood by in its hour of distress. It betrayed the pledge, broke the covenant and rewarded our benevolence with evil. It made us the target of the weapons of destruction in its possession, advanced against our country with hundreds of thousands of troops and thousands of tanks and aircraft in a total war on land, at sea and in the air, intent on invasion and aggression, bent on the annihilation of the Kuwaiti people and the obliteration of the political and cultural individuality of Kuwait, deluding itself therein that it could eliminate a State, destroy a people, put an end to a civilization and wipe out a history in an attempt to face the world with a new reality.

"And they devised, and God devised, and God is the best of devisers."

The Lord's providence, however, prevented the completion of all the elements of this dastardly scheme, and Kuwait was saved from the obliteration that they sought for it. The banner of Holy War and resistance has been hoisted in the hands of all Kuwaitis, men and women, and the voice of Kuwait has been raised high to be heard at every international gathering, in world capitals and in every Arab, Islamic and international forum until the day of liberation arrives when we shall expel the belligerent invaders, eliminate injustice and aggression and, God willing, return to our land and our homes safe and sound. This is not, O brothers, a time for lengthy discourse on matters of detail. Today, it is enough that we should together take note of a set of facts that I do not think are subject to debate or disagreement.

The first is that the men of our armed forces, the Army, the National Guard and the Police Force, stood as heroes do before the armies of aggression. Although they entered boldly into an unequal battle in which they had no chance to use their full capacities and skills, they nevertheless stood the test and defied death in defence of the homeland. They were, in giving good account of themselves, as we have always known them to be - magnificent and dutiful sons of our mother Kuwait and magnificent men of valour of whom we are proud and of whom we can rightly boast.

The second such fact - and this is a great and historic feat that successive generations will retain the right constantly to recall and to glory in - is that the entire people of Kuwait stood as one man in rejecting the invasion and condemning the aggression. The aggressors miscalculated when they imagined that, by threats and promises, they would be able to find Kuwaitis to collaborate with them. Their hopes were disappointed, and they failed to find even one single Kuwaiti who would agree to collaborate with them or to participate in their spurious puppet government, a fact which forced them to reveal the true nature of their evil intentions and to expose their criminal scheme by declaring the annexation of Kuwait to Iraq.

In all countries throughout the centuries, armies of occupation have always found some men among the weak of spirit, even if only a few, to collaborate with them. In Kuwait, however, the entire people, without a single individual exception, rejected and continue to reject any collaboration with the forces of the criminal occupation.

Another fact that history will record to the credit of Kuwait and its people in its pages of glory, pride and honour is that the entire Kuwaiti people has not accepted and will not accept, under any circumstances, any collaboration with the enemy or any dealings with its tyrannical clique.

There is a third fact with respect to which there can be no dispute and no quarrel, and that is that the people of Kuwait have proved in their hour of adversity that they are a single community in both word and deed. They have rallied around their leadership, which is one that is of the people and for the people, and they have closed ranks like an interlocking structure whose different parts support and strengthen one another. They have thus shown their worthy mettle, the purity of their hearts and their conscious understanding of the higher interest of Kuwait, and they have risen, through their genuine patriotism, their

inbred gallantry and their high moral character, high above any attempts at fostering machinations, internal strife and opportunism.

This, my dear brothers, is an honourable patriotic stand which I record with esteem and pride to the credit of the sons of our noble people. It must inevitably be one of the foundations on which, God willing, the building of the future of the new Kuwait will be based after liberation.

The fourth such fact is that, a few hours after the beginning of the treacherous Iraqi invasion, the political leadership realized what the Iraqi régime was planning with its troop movements and their rapid incursion into the heart of Kuwait City. They understood that the enemy's objective at that stage was to destroy the country's leadership and to liquidate the symbols of its power and the members of its Government in order to create a constitutional vacuum that would make it easy for the enemy to achieve its evil goals and clothe its aggression in a false garb. God, however, granted salvation, and the Government, headed by His Highness our beloved Amir, may God preserve him, removed itself to a place that was beyond the reach of the aggression. Thus, with God's help, was legitimacy preserved. The Government held its regular meeting that same day, continued to exercise its authority and its constitutional powers and embarked immediately on a wide-ranging political initiative which included sustained contacts with heads of State and Government in brotherly, friendly and other countries and numerous multi-level visits to many countries in various parts of the world in order to make plain the invasion and brutal aggression that had afflicted our beloved country and mobilize world support for our just cause.

This, dear brothers, was the first failure of the criminal scheme elaborated by the iniquitous Iraqi régime for the destruction of the political individuality of the State of Kuwait.

The fifth fact is that, from the first days of the brutal occupation, the Government hastened to concern itself with the living conditions of those citizens who had been outside the country. To the extent possible, it made available to them and to their families the means necessary for a life of dignity. It then redoubled its efforts so that they might also extend to the welfare of the thousands of families forced by the tyranny of the Iraqi régime to flee from the beloved homeland. The Government helped to support the committees that were quickly formed to see to the welfare of citizens in all the places they were to be found. It provided them and their families, to the extent possible, with the facilities necessary for their social well-being, such as housing and health and educational services.

We praise Almighty God that the people of Kuwait, despite the occupation of their country and their departure from their homes, were not subjected to the humiliation of need or to reduced circumstances but remained, as they will remain by God's grace and through their solidarity and cohesion, proud and dignified. The entire world has seen that our precious Kuwait is a loving and generous mother who does not forget her sons even in the most trying moments of her ordeal.

This, my brothers, is another fact that will be recorded with appreciation to the credit of all the sons of our peoples who have contributed to this patriotic effort to preserve for the people of Kuwait their dignity and self-pride.

Here, I find myself obliged to express gratitude and appreciation to the fraternal Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to its King, its Government and its people, and to our generous friends in the other countries of the Co-operation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf who have opened their hearts, their territories and their homes to us and have stood by us without reserve.

We shall also not forget our friends throughout the Arab and Islamic worlds, chief among them the Arab Republic of Egypt, for the brotherly consideration and generous hospitality that they have extended to the sons of our people. This, my brothers, is a gallant and chivalrous stand that their future generations will long remember with appreciation and acknowledgment.

My brothers; noble sons of my homeland:

Since the first days of the crisis contrived by the Iraqi régime and before the implementation of its scheming plot to invade and occupy our homeland, we have been most desirous of endeavouring to resolve the dispute created by the Iraqi régime within the inter-Arab framework. At that time, we proposed that the dispute should be submitted to a committee of arbitration established by the League of Arab States. The Iraqi side, however, did not accept our proposal, refused to solve the dispute within the Arab framework and insisted on a bilateral solution so that it could impose its will upon us. In a spirit of brotherliness, we then responded to the generous efforts being made by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz, and by His Excellency President Muhammed Hosni Mubarak, and we participated in good faith in the meeting with the Iraqi side at Jeddah in an endeavour to resolve the dispute within the inter-Arab framework. At the meeting, we expressed our readiness to continue the dialogue with the Iraqi side in Baghdad and then in Kuwait, but the Iraqi régime did not wish to negotiate and sought to impose its will upon us with scheming intent. It was subsequently shown that the Iraqi régime had been anxious for the failure of all the efforts and endeavours made to resolve the dispute because, within a few hours of the Jeddah meeting, it hastened to invade and occupy Kuwait without pretext or warning.

The Iraqi régime then persisted in rejecting an inter-Arab solution on the basis of a withdrawal from Kuwait and the restoration of legitimacy inasmuch as it refused to implement the resolution adopted by the Extraordinary Arab Summit Conference held at Cairo on 10 August, just as it persisted in rejecting an Islamic solution through its refusal to implement the resolution of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. It persisted in rejecting an international solution when it refused, as it still does, to implement the Security Council resolutions condemning the aggression of the Iraqi régime against the State of Kuwait, calling upon it to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from all Kuwaiti territory and declaring support for the legitimate authority of the State of Kuwait.

It is truly distressing to hear, as we do from time to time, Arab spokesmen coming before the world with proposals and initiatives which call for an inter-Arab

solution to the crisis. To those who advance such proposals and initiatives, we say that the inter-Arab solution already exists, that the Islamic solution already exists and that the international solution already exists. So let the Iraqi régime embark on the implementation of any one of these solutions, which accord with each other in that they call for a full withdrawal and the restoration of Kuwaiti legitimacy. If you are sincere in the endeavour to resolve the crisis within the inter-Arab framework, then why do you not require the Iraqi régime to withdraw its forces from the State of Kuwait? Why do you not publicly announce your rejection and condemnation of Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait? Does an inter-Arab solution permit one Arab State to commit aggression against another Arab State, occupy its territory, expel its people and endeavour to obliterate its political individuality and alter its demographic composition by expelling its people and bringing in others to take their places? Is this the meaning of an inter-Arab solution? Are these Arab ethics, the principles of the Arab nation and Islamic values?

The occupation of Kuwait by the treacherous Iraqi régime is no longer a problem only for Kuwait, for the Gulf or for the Arabs. It has become an international problem, in which the peoples of the entire world are endorsing our position, rejecting the act of aggression against us, supporting and defending our just cause and mustering all their strength to repulse that act of aggression and restore to us our usurped rights.

Although Kuwait is no longer alone in confronting the iniquitous Iraqi aggression, our firm position, which we have previously made public, is based on the following foundations:

1. The sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait are not open to negotiation or bargaining.

2. We shall not accept any solution which falls short of full implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Extraordinary Arab Summit Conference at Cairo and by the Security Council. Each of those resolutions called for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from all Kuwaiti territory and affirmed support for the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate authority.

3. We reserve our right to demand compensation from the Iraqi régime in respect of all the material and moral damage which it has inflicted on our country and our people, as well as in respect of all the Kuwaiti assets which have been looted.

4. The unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from all Kuwaiti territory must precede any attempts to settle the dispute fabricated by the Iraqi régime immediately before its attack on Kuwait or any other matters outstanding between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

My brothers, noble sons of my homeland,

Our dear nation is being ground down by the wicked Iraqi régime's occupation. Night and day, our proud compatriots are being subjected to the harshest forms of violence and maltreatment by the tyrant of Baghdad and his clique of oppressors:

they have wreaked havoc in our peaceful homes by killing innocent people, raping women, desecrating places of worship, stealing any property or goods on which they can set their hands and looting shops, banks and even schools and hospitals.

Our motherland Kuwait appeals to all of us for help, seeking salvation and deliverance from the beasts in human form which have defiled her pure soil.

National duty requires that all of us devote ourselves to the achievement of a single and paramount objective: that of liberation.

Liberation is the goal towards and for the sake of which all our efforts and activities must be channelled.

Liberation is the lofty cause to whose success we must all dedicate ourselves and the entirety of our energies.

Liberation must be the overriding concern which occupies our thought and all our attention, night and day, through all our waking and sleeping hours.

For the purpose of achieving liberation, and as a means to its realization, there are certain objectives towards which we must strive in order to achieve our supreme objective, namely, that of liberating our nation from the noose of the iniquitous occupation:

1. To support the defiant stand of our people in the country and to strengthen their ability to remain in the homeland and resist the occupation; to foil the criminal scheme designed to expel our compatriots from their homes.

2. To preserve the interests of our people and to meet their subsistence requirements, in view of their critical situation with respect to security, accommodation, daily sustenance, the education of their children and medical and social welfare.

3. To maintain continued Kuwaiti legitimacy and to inform the entire world that independent Kuwait remains alive, remains free and continues to operate as in the past. This objective requires continued political and diplomatic action and an intensification of efforts in the field of information to strengthen our position and serve our cause, which must continue to be the principal issue occupying the attention of the world until, with God's assistance, liberation is achieved.

4. To remain prepared for military action, whether on the part of our armed forces, which have been reorganized and have taken up their positions among the joint international forces, or on the part of those trained compatriots of ours who are able to bear weapons, in order that they may all be in the vanguard of the liberation forces.

My brothers, noble sons of my homeland,

If liberation is our first and last objective in this crucial phase of our dear country's history, national unity is our path to such liberation and our

strongest and most important weapon. There can be no liberation without national unity. Let us therefore strive for national unity and work to strengthen and maintain it, constituting as it does the solid foundation upon which the Kuwait of the future will be built. Let us build it together, using both brain and brawn, by means of our toil, our devotion, our co-operation and our affection for our beloved Kuwait.

While freedom of speech is a right which has been recognized by our society from the outset and is confirmed by our Constitution, to which we steadfastly cleave and adhere, the causes neither of patriotism nor of freedom of speech will be served - particularly in light of the enemy occupation of our land and nation - if anyone abuses our national unity or seeks to distort the image of our people's struggle.

We believe that natural development is a rule of life and that there are many lessons we must learn from the ordeal of occupation being undergone by our nation and our people, which causes suffering to all of us, night and day.

The political leadership, which was always closest to the heart of our people and the most sensitive to its pulse and its genuine feelings, will not hesitate to interact with the wishes of our people and to respond to its aspirations, following the liberation of our nation and our return, with God's assistance, to our land and to our homes.

The objectives which we wish to achieve once victory is won and the invaders have withdrawn are grand and lofty. Kuwait, which has been defended by the entire Kuwaiti people, will embrace all members of that people. Guided by the Constitution of 1962, Kuwait will strengthen democracy and consolidate popular participation, which has been and remains a goal towards which we are striving and devoting our efforts.

Kuwaiti women - mothers, sisters, wives and daughters - have proved, both by resisting within the country and by rejecting the occupation from without, that they are "sisters of men". On your behalf, I salute and applaud them. I am certain that they will play a greater role and will participate more fully in liberated Kuwait.

This people, which with its blood, its struggle and its heroic defiance, has won a place of honour in the annals of resistance to aggression and refusal to co-operate or collaborate with the forces of wicked occupation and has, simply by its determination, set splendid examples of loyalty to its country, devotion to its Amir and solidarity with its leadership, can be rewarded for its trust only with more trust, can be rewarded for its love only with more love and can be rewarded for its devotion only with more devotion. "Shall the recompense of goodness be other than goodness?"

The objective of this Conference, as stated in the invitation addressed to each one of you, is to consult as to what is best for our dear nation and our noble people and what will strengthen our patriotic struggle to liberate our beloved Kuwait and drive out the brutal invaders, as well as to exchange opinions as to

what is in the interests of the nation and its citizens at this crucial stage of our history. It is the right, and indeed the duty, of the leadership to refer to the people, to seek its opinion, to ask for its assessment of the situation and to draw upon its advice and strength in order to press further forward on the path of struggle and liberation.

Let our hearts come together in love for Kuwait, let our efforts be united in working for its liberation, let us lend a hand each to another in hoisting the flag of holy war and let us pledge to each other before God Almighty that we will sacrifice our lives and our property to defend our beloved Kuwait ... that Kuwait of love, of concord, of peace and a single family which the brutal oppressors have usurped. Let us march on the path of holy war and liberation as brothers linked by mutual assistance, trusting, patient and steadfast, without any word coming between us, and without being distracted by anything from our sacred duty, until such time as God grants us victory, the wicked infestation is removed from the land of Kuwait and our flag is hoisted above it for eternity, bearing the symbols of security, safety, affection and all those noble human sentiments which have so often united Kuwaitis and those Arabs, Muslims and others who have been seconded to them, fully confident that God is with us and that His hand is guiding ours. The peoples of the world are supporting us, condemning the attack and working to repel it in an instance of international consensus which has no precedent in history, affirming their support for what is right, their endorsement of legitimacy and the need to punish aggressors.

The forces of the wicked Iraqi régime which occupied our territory have been unable to occupy our will. The armies of the tyrant of Baghdad which invaded our nation and snatched the freedom of our people have failed to quell our determination. The tanks of the treacherous enemy which spread death and destruction in our homes have been foiled in their attempt to destroy our faith and to weaken the resistance of our people.

Our people, who are few in number and constitute but a small population, have proved the greatness of their faith, and the strength of their determination, resilience and defiance.

To our defiant compatriots in our beloved homeland we say: We are with you ... with you always ... through our hearts, our minds, our feelings and every limb of our bodies ... with you at every time and every moment ... we share your pains and endure your sufferings ... we salute your defiance, we praise the firmness of your determination, we take pride in your acts of heroism and we glory in your resistance to the enemy ... we embrace you from afar and we shake your hands, which have fashioned the most splendid heroic acts and illuminated the way for the march of struggle and liberation. We would have been pleased if you had been with us today at our Conference, if you had inspired, by your presence among us, the radiance of hope and trust in liberation and return ... We constantly pray to God for your welfare and manifest victory and we beg God Almighty to unite us with you soon in our beloved land of Kuwait, once it has been cleansed of the infestation of the brutal invaders.

"Be patient, and vie you in patience; be steadfast; fear God; haply so you will prosper."

The defiance of our people will continue and grow stronger, our determination will be victorious, our word, with God's assistance, will prevail, our flag will rise high, we shall liberate our territory, we shall drive the aggressors from our country, the shadow of oppression and aggression will be removed from our homes and we shall return to them, God willing, triumphant, safe and serene.

Annex III

Address of Mr. Abd al-Aziz al-Saqr, representative of participants, to the Kuwaiti People's Congress held at Jeddah from 13 to 15 October 1990

Your Highness, Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait (may God protect you), Your Highness, Sheikh Saad Al-Abdulla Al-Sabah, Crown Prince and Prime Minister, distinguished brothers,

At a meeting such as this, which is Kuwaiti in purpose, in patronage and in attendance, no purpose is served by detailing the true dimensions and extent of the aggression, nor by refuting the untruths and calumnies contained in the assertions of the aggressor, nor by exposing the treacherous and barbarous nature of the practices of the invaders. Every one of us is a victim of the aggression and has suffered an attack on his nation, his offspring, his family, his spirit, livelihood and work. Every one of us believes in God's justice and assistance and trusts that the oppressor will reap only thorns, defeat and punishment in the hereafter.

At a meeting such as this, the circumstances of which are tragic and the outlook from which is calamitous, there is no point in lingering over ruins, no matter how terrible the destruction, nor in shedding tears, regardless of the misfortune, nor in pouring salt on the wounds in order to wash some of the bitterness of remorse with pain. We are the generation which built Kuwait, or are its immediate descendants, and it is we who were able, by the grace of God and then with our own hands, to make of Kuwait a beacon of civilization and a miracle of prosperity. We have the capability, with God's permission and by means of our own determination, to restore the glory and splendour of free Kuwait.

At a meeting such as this - the subject of an official invitation and a popular response - the objective is by no means to pledge allegiance to the Sabah family. The allegiance of Kuwaitis to that family was never at any time in question, so does not require reaffirmation; never at any time refuted, so does not require renewal; never at any time linked to a date, so does not require extension. It began in affection and in harmony and it continued in co-operation and agreement. It was then enshrined in a Constitution and a covenant. The Kuwaiti people, in the most difficult and dangerous of circumstances, has stood by its promise and fully adhered to its Constitution and commitment, cleaving to its legitimacy and standing as one behind the Amir of the country and his Crown Prince. In doing so, it has scored a rare achievement in history, won the respect of the world and thereby aborted the dreams of the invaders. Rather, I come to affirm that the Kuwaiti popular consensus in adhering to legitimacy has been a decisive factor in ensuring the unprecedented international consensus in support of Kuwait.

Your Highness the Amir, Your Highness the Crown Prince and Prime Minister, gentlemen,

This meeting of ours, therefore, is not a rally for abuse and revilement nor a demonstration of support and encouragement, for these are matters in which we have already moved on from words to deeds, and in which we have harnessed the ardour of emotion in order to sharpen our wits and our minds. We have travelled to Jeddah to engage in a serious and new dialogue which establishes the principal premises on which to build tomorrow's liberated Kuwait. In the light of this understanding of the motives and objective of this meeting, permit me to outline what I believe to be the most important principles to which we must adhere in rebuilding the Kuwaiti house.

1. Popular participation based on freedom of dialogue, decision by majority and the monitoring of implementation. I do not think that I need today to explain the reasons for this first and most important premise and its exigencies. Everything occurring in our national and Arab arena furnishes proof and evidence. The Iraqi régime's assault on Kuwait was, in the final analysis, one of the tragic results of absolute Iraqi rule, which accords no significance to the human being and does not recognize the value of freedom. It is also a result of Arab failure to prevent the aggression in the beginning, to deter and repel it thereafter, or subsequently to identify an Arab solution to the crisis. It may be ascribed first and foremost to a denial of the role of peoples and a refusal to recognize their interests. On the other hand, the Kuwaiti experience has shown that when those who hold differing opinions adhere to the principles of political action and are motivated by public service and complete loyalty to the nation and national legitimacy, operating on a basis of independent intellectual conviction, such people cannot help but stand by the nation and defend its legitimacy and freedom.

The popular participation for which we are calling in Kuwait does not need to be examined and delayed. Its features are clear and its foundations and constituent elements lie in the country's Constitution, to which Your Highness graciously referred. It can fulfil its political, social and economic role without crossing any bounds, and the limits of each party's responsibility can be traced without any overlapping, simply by means of sincere adherence to and conscientious application of all the articles and clauses of the Constitution of 1962. This is particularly true because the Constitution has drawn on the experiences of other States, thus enhancing its genuine Kuwaiti identity. It acts like a political cloak, of Kuwaiti cloth and design, which harmonizes with the criteria of Kuwaiti society, is a product of its political and social climate and meets its requirements for growth and development.

The constitutional document, whose ratification and promulgation some time ago took the form of a pact and covenant between the people and its political leadership, has assuredly won fresh historic honour now that the martyrs of Kuwait have sealed it with the blood of sacrifice and dedication, now that the people has held fast to legitimacy by expressing its noble loyalty to its pact and its genuine respect for its covenant.

While the Kuwaiti Constitution guarantees full political freedoms to each citizen, I think it is necessary and useful in this context to emphasize that the free Kuwaiti press should play an important role as an instrument of truthful intercommunication between the people and the authorities, as one of the prerequisites for freedom of dialogue and monitoring of the implementation of decisions, in its capacity as the voice of liberated Kuwait and its message to the free people of the world.

2. The second principle that I wish to emphasize is "the Islamic nature of our faith". The new Kuwaiti house must be built on Islamic upbringing, morals and practice such as to educate a generation which believes in the Lord, understands the greatness of Islam, its solid truth and the generosity of Islam in dealings among people and grasps its meaning and sense in each and every aspect. It shall be open to the world and receptive to its innovations, shall through logic and good counsel draw others unto God and good works and shall coexist well with others and their beliefs, maintaining its distance from fanaticism.

3. Here I believe it necessary to state, on this matter, that the ordeal being experienced by Kuwaiti citizens today places them under enormous pressure in terms of pain, disappointment and bitterness, so that asking them to maintain their clarity of vision and objectivity of thinking in this connection becomes an arduous task. No Kuwaiti citizen can be blamed or censured for this, for the crisis is one of shock and surprise, in which perceptive and wise individuals are at a loss. I am, however, fully confident that when freedom and legitimacy are restored to Kuwait, when the invaders are driven from it in confusion and when the turbulence of the Kuwaiti people's anger and the severity of its pain subside, we shall all recognize, with our sincere national feeling and our genuine Arab sentiment, that one of the Iraqi régime's principal aims in invading Kuwait was to drive a wedge of discord between the peoples of the Arab community and to sow hatred and rancour among them, in order to keep them divided and mutually estranged, with conspiring régimes playing on their feelings and plotting against their interests. Let us all resist attempts to hurl those peoples into the flaming oven of hatred because the régimes governing some of those peoples have adopted shameful positions vis-à-vis the national crime committed by the Iraqi régime.

Arabism is our origin and our strength, and we neither wish nor are able to deny this. Those who hold some Arab peoples to be guilty of the crimes of those in power over them forget that there is an overwhelming chasm and a yawning gap between such peoples and their leaders. While those who overwhelmed Kuwait are Arabs, and while the minority which deceived it are Arabs, we must recall and be proud that those who stood by us, opened their hearts, houses and countries to us and sent their sons as soldiers to defend our just cause and to fight alongside us are also Arabs, and that they constitute the overwhelming majority. Neither should we forget that we too were among those who were deceived by the glittering slogans of the Iraqi régime and misled by its lying banners. We supported that régime without reservation and gave it unlimited assistance, only for our country subsequently to be invaded with weapons it had bought with our money, allegedly to defend the community and the nation.

Your Highness the Amir, Your Highness the Crown Prince and Prime Minister, gentlemen,

While these, in my opinion, are the main principles by which we must be guided in planning the reconstruction, with God's permission, of liberated Kuwait, our concern for this future duty, which is filled with hope and challenges, must in no way affect the channelling of our efforts and funds to support our families, our brothers and our sons inside the country, or to alleviate the pains and sorrows of our families, our brothers and our sons who are outside Kuwait. This must be done in the context of a comprehensive plan, the implementation of which is overseen by a working team of an official and popular character, enjoying clear responsibilities and broad authority and exercising firm control, while according absolute priority to those standing firm on national soil and the provision of assistance to those in need outside Kuwait without any flattery, discrimination or favouritism, but rather in accordance with need, necessity and the interests of the country.

In conclusion, Your Highness, I have not the slightest doubt that I express the feelings and emotions of everyone in this hall when I extend our sincere thanks, appreciation and recognition to the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz, King of Saudi Arabia, to His Highness the Crown Prince, to his wise Government and to his fraternal people, for the noble Arab and Islamic support they have shown to the Amir, Government and people of Kuwait by generously hosting this Congress. Gratitude, appreciation and recognition are also due to Their Majesties, Their Highnesses and Their Excellencies the leaders of those fraternal Arab States, and their proud peoples, which have reflected the depth and nobility of Arab brotherhood and the reality and splendour of Islamic mutual compassion by receiving and caring for Kuwaiti citizens, by supporting and endorsing Kuwait's just cause with all the resources at their disposal and by sending their sons and their forces to counter the invasion and act of aggression.

May God have mercy on Kuwait's martyrs, grant victory to its people, assist its Amir and Crown Prince and inspire us all with reason and good sense in that country's service.